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Tugare Phratry:

13. Ārórę ʒębegeʷõ
14. Ārórę čębegeʷõ
15. Ẹwåguddu čereð kurigeð ʒębegeʷõ
16. Ẹwåguddu bo'pokẹjeʷõ čębegeʷõ
17. Ẹwåguddu baiaddadaᵃʰ eten'manāge
18. Ẹwåguddu kujagoreð etu'ieemage ʒåbõgeʷõ (cåbõgeʷõ half)
19. unoccupied shelter
20. Ārórę ʒåbõgeʷõ baiaddadaᵃʰ (1)

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1. Cf. Footnote 1, p. 7.

21. Ārórę ʒåbõgeʷõ
22. Apibore kujagoreð
23. Apibore ʒoreð
24. Apibore
25. Païwe ʒoreð
26. Paiwe kujagoreð

Houses belonging to the same clan are placed side by side, with the exception of those of the Ārórę clan, which is separated into two groups by the Ẹwåguddu clan.

Connections with the Economic Organization

It is difficult to ascertain whether the influence of the natives' contact with civilized people (2) have greatly modified their

2. We are using this term exclusively to designate the Indian Protection Service. Actually, it would be absolutely impossible to understand the relative stability of the material culture of the Bororo

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(of which von den Steinen's study, more than 50 years old, still offers an extraordinarily faithful description) if one did not take into account the fact that this culture, in itself highly superior to that of the Brazilian caboclo /"copper-colored"/ has been raised still more above the latter level by the gifts of the Service de Protection. A fisherman on the Río Vermelho, in 1936, had only one means of obtaining an axe for himself: it was to try to get one from the Indians. The essential reason which permitted us to make up a small group to make the trip to Kejara, in a period when navigation in a canoe is particularly difficult, is that our men knew that the Indians in this village—where they had never been—had cultivated tobacco, and they were hoping to bring back some young plants. Their hope was realized: the 300 tobacco plants given by the natives to our canoeiros marked the beginning of tobacco cultivation by the Brazilian population of the upper São Lourenço. These extraordinary conditions explain why the material culture of the Bororo, incomparably superior to that of the immediate environment, should have been almost exactly preserved.

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economic life. The present-day diet /276/ of the Bororo is more vegetable than meat. This is explained by the growing necessity to have recourse to agriculture in view of the increasing scarcity

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179 of game, and by the new facilities brought to farming by the iron
178 tools distributed about ten years ago by the Service de Protection.
433 As agriculture has remained exclusively women's work, the activity
[462] of the men has become simply diminished, and the existence level of the population has dropped. Thus, although the Service de Protection has given the natives appreciable advantages in comparison with the cultural poverty of the white or half-breed population of the interior, it has certainly diminished them in regard to their
●[511] own culture. Be that as it may, the present system does not exclude economic differences. Within the body of collective obli-
241 gations, each enjoys a certain amount of freedom. It is the native
[622] chief of the village who gives the order to increase or limit the clearing of land, to sow rice or maize, or to plant manioc or tobacco. The female part of each family works one piece of land, and the land available in relation to the clearing carried out is great enough so that allotments are made without strife: the natives seem to have no boundary disputes. The cultivated plots are abandoned as soon as the land is exhausted and another piece of ground is chosen. An extreme diversity of resources exists.

736 Unmarried orphans, not being able to count on the work of a woman (mother, wife, or daughter), are deprived of all garden
737 products and live on the charity of their comrades. It is the same for the old people; after a hunt or successful fishing trip, they are brought a piece of meat or a few fish. But also sometimes they are forgotten. The indigent person is then reduced to going without a meal and all night long, alone, utters ritual lamentations. An
[587] old woman who shared our hut, neglected one day by her usual benefactors, for hours recalled the times when her five successive husbands assured her her daily bread, quite indifferent to our presents.

511 Beside them live the well fed, whether because their harvest
463 was particularly good, or because the family contains a high num-
595 ber of women (we found, among the chiefs, two examples of
412 bigamy), or even because it is a question of indispensable specialists:

1/1 [The author is evidently using the term "bigamy" in the sense of legitimate plural marriage rather than in the sense of irregular union, C.f. P. 117--Analyst]

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511 463 595 412 the Indian who furnished the tribe with square stone grindstones used to polish hard woods and sharpen bone and iron tools was considered particularly /277/ competent, and the benefits of his work relieved him of any farming.

634 661 426 One also finds the improvident. The chief of all the villages of the Río Vermelho, whose host we were at Kejara, for several years had used his authority for personal profit. Numerous were the natives who, having cleared, planted, and harvested for him, thus had possession of veritable mortgages. From this improvidence [126] [439] /sic/ we had to obtain ritual objects considered precious. For Tuŝawa, who alone was able to dispose of them, had found, in trading them, a means of obtaining clothing, ornaments, weapons, and tools, of which he kept nothing and which served to pay off all [614] his debts. Since in truth his power was limited by the clan chiefs with whom he held endless conferences before each sale, our objects of exchange were undoubtedly used in large part for commissions and jugs of wine which produced agreement.

556 These differences in resources have a personal character. But skill in hunting or fishing and abundance of the products of the [239] earth are secondary elements of good fortune. A more hereditary type of wealth is constituted by pendants of ounce teeth or pins of macaco teeth, or also the long belts made of small fragments of tucum nuts, armadillo scales, and shells, which no present, no matter how sumptuous, will induce a woman to part with and which are in fact the result of the labors and hunts of many generations.

556 123 One day we met a woman in festival costume who was wearing a particularly fine pin on her neck (Pl. X, A, in background /see p. 48/). Confronted with a mountain of presents, she left without saying a word, and a few minutes later we saw her return without the precious jewel which she never wore again during our stay. [152] After many efforts we were able to obtain another, less fine example, but as soon as the transaction became known, it provoked real fury among the feminine element in the village, which did not spare us [428] any insults. These ornaments seem to be passed on from mother or grandmother to daughter or granddaughter by deed of gift.

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

fruits that fall into the water from the overhanging branches of trees. The habits of the denizens of both forest and stream are well known to the wild men. 226

The Bororó also fish with a bow and an ordinary harpoon-pointed arrow, which they shoot into a fish when it comes near the surface, then dash into the water, seize the end of the arrow and drag the fish ashore. They cannot catch very large fish in this way. They do not care much for fish-hooks. The only time I saw them use them was to patrol the river once when fish were scarce. But this is a new method of fishing to them. [141] [227]

One day, we went fishing with hooks and lines off some rocks. After waiting some time for a bite, one of our hooks in the meantime getting fast in a log at the bottom of the river, several Bororó appeared, equipped with their sack-nets, and plunged into the river to fish. So we asked one of them to dive and release the hook. Coming up with it soon, he made us appear foolish by coolly informing us that there were no fish in that locality. Having learned to greatly respect Bororó knowledge of such matters, we drew in our lines and abandoned the spot.

When we arrived at the Tá Dáre Máno Páro village, the river Pogúbu teemed with fish, especially with a fine specie called *pacú* by the Brazilians. A low, rumbling sound, like the paddling of a steamboat in the distance, caused by these fish, issued from the river. In these seasons of plenty, the natives are contented and grow fleshy. [103] [136] [511]

The Bororó frequently plunge into the turbid waters of the river at the dead of night when the darkness is inky, and swimming and diving, fish for hours while descending with the current. Of course they can see nothing, so must guide themselves by the senses of feeling and hearing. They have no canoes, nor any knowledge of how to make them. [501]

One of the most striking traits of character of these children of Nature is their power of imitation. Their music (?) is almost wholly the reproducing of the voices of the many wild creatures they know, while their sports are close imita- 151 825

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575 The aróe. The hub of Bororó existence is the baitó, the men's
533 house, and, compared with the incredibly noisy life that goes on
[345] there day and night, the family huts are scarcely more than an abode for women and children. The united men are called aróe, and, to be sure, especially with respect to the joint hunting. In the songs resounding and widely echoing in the baitó, one may say without undue exaggeration, almost every day and every night, aróe is not the third, but the second word; for the songs contain enumerations of animals and things, each of which is followed by at least one aróe as soon as it is named. There is singing on all occasions that in any way arouse feelings of sorrow or joy, and, to be sure, insofar as possible, on the eve of the
[629] event as well as after it. The chief announces in the evening a hunt for the following day: now, instead of sensibly going to sleep until the early hour of departure has arrived, the aróe join in their hunting song, and the most enthusiastic ones sing
[582] steadfastly until morning. The tribe gives the impression of a male singing society made up of hunters, the members of which pledge themselves not to marry until they are about 40 years old,
[561] but to live together in their clubhouse. The older members with
264 families are the respected dignitaries, and for this reason they,
[554] too, can spend only a little time at home; they take part in the hunting expeditions or must officiate in the clubhouse where they provide for order, lead the songs, and on the busy days also take part in the meal which the women send in. /Pl. XXVIII appears here./

184 /481/ Clemente asserted that the Indians in the colony did not in any way live differently than in their villages, that, on the contrary, there the joint hunting was even more prominent because they had to provide all their subsistence themselves. Ac-
105 cording to this, therefore, life on the Kulisehu is essentially
171 different from that in the Bororó village. There people lived
433 together in stately family houses, here every married couple
● 511 blessed with children had their small miserable hut; there the
571 bachelors constituted the exception, here the majority; there the men living in monogomy had their flute house which no woman entered, which served for general consultations and dances

[Text continues on p.601]

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105 but where they worked only in making their festive ornaments,
171 here girls were forcibly dragged into the men's house, always be-
433 coming the common property of several members, and the regular
511 work on weapons and implements was carried on in the men's
571 house. Among the Bororó, family life was most clearly only an achievement of the older and stronger ones. A living could only be obtained by means of the closed fellowship of the majority of the men, who often had to be absent hunting together for a long time, which would not have been feasible for individuals. This living was meager, and the younger ones had to be satisfied if they themselves had enough to eat; they could not obtain enough to take care of wife and child as well. With peaceful field cultivation, which the woman of the Kulisehu tribes had developed or learned, conditions changed completely; the community of the men, the aróe, faded into the background and could be limited to that for fishing and festive dances. The availability of food was now so abundant and regular that each one had enough for the needs of at least a small family -- he saw to it that the family remained small -- and now that the activity of the woman became the more important achievement, it was, conversely, advantageous for the women to join together for joint work: people lived in families in a large house.

511 Hunting and agriculture. "In the rainy season they are with-
261 out any kind of food for days and days," dias e dias sem nada para comer, Clemente reported. Then they drank a great deal of water mixed with loam to strengthen themselves, but did not
241 eat any loam. They planted only tobacco, cotton, and gourds,
184 and, to be sure, only the upper Bororó living in the source region
[226] of the S. Lourenço along small streams, who were more skillful
[436] fishermen, did this. The lower villages bartered arrows for those vegetable products. Here, therefore, we see that cultivation is begun not with the plants yielding food! Our Bororó now settled
415 in Thereza Christina had not learned to plant anything. Calabashes
[534] and long gourds suitable for storing feathers were in fact not present; smaller gourds were seldom used and chiefly as rattle gourds for the aróe singing or as small blow-gourds. The men